OPERATION KAGAR

The Combined Assault of Corporatization, Militarization, and Hindutva

Revolutionary Writers' Association (Virasam)

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Foreword:

Operation Kagar: India's War Against Its Own People

Arasavilli Krishna

The Adivasi way of life in Dandakaranya is largely unknown to the hegemonic Indian society. The wealthy and middle-class intellectuals often overlook the existence of their fellow Adivasi citizens. Unlike other marginalized communities such as Muslims and Christians, Adivasis lack an emotional bond with broader Indian society. Their traditional way of life, which conserves natural resources and maintains environmental balance, is undervalued and unappreciated. Despite their crucial role in sustaining the economy, Adivasis remain largely invisible and alienated.

This alienation is at the heart of the problem. Historically, the Indian state has adopted an adversarial stance toward Adivasis, aiming to exploit forest wealth and natural resources. This stance predates Indian independence and has intensified over time. For example, broader society is still encouraged to look on Adivasis as "backward", "shy forest dwellers" who have been "left behind", these being the 1965 Lokur Committee criteria that are still used by the Indian State to grant the title of "Scheduled Tribe" to an Adivasi or other pastoral community. The title is also taken away from individual people who attain some socio-economic improvement. However, Adivasis are not defenseless. Their struggle for survival, deeply connected to India's social ecology, has evolved into armed resistance against the oppression of the state.

Since the Maoists are steadfastly standing with the Adivasis in their struggles, these struggles are often criminalized by the state. The Indian state, under the guise of eradicating Maoist influence, risks the lives and livelihoods of millions of Adivasis. This conflation of Adivasi and Maoist identities has led to violent repercussions for indigenous communities. The most recent example is Operation Kagar, an initiative purportedly aimed at creating a "Maoist-free India". However, this operation is part of a broader war strategy that follows previous campaigns such as Salwa Judum, Green Hunt, and SAMADHAN-Prahar. Each of these operations has further marginalized the Adivasi communities by intensifying the state's militaristic approach to address what it perceives as "internal threats to national security". This approach not only endangers the Adivasis but also disregards their centuries-old cultural heritage and their critical role in preserving India's natural resources.

Operation Kagar intertwines economic, cultural, and political motives. Over the past two years, drone attacks on Adivasi homes and fields have instilled a persisting fear in these regions. The goal behind such terror, whether under past leaders such as Manmohan Singh and P. Chidambaram or current leaders like Narendra Modi and Amit Shah, remains the same: Brahminical corporatization of natural resources, now with the added dimension of "Hindutva", the most extreme version of Brahminical fascism in recent history. This strategy not only seeks to exploit the natural wealth of Adivasi lands but also aims to impose a homogeneous cultural identity that marginalizes indigenous traditions and beliefs. Moreover, the persistent assault on Adivasi communities reflects a broader agenda to reshape India's socio-economic landscape by prioritizing corporate interests and gaining the public's consent though managing and diverting public perception, a key way for which has been to drive a

"one nation" singular cultural narrative over the diverse and rich heritage of its indigenous populations.

The contemporary Indian state presents Operation Kagar as the final war to eradicate the Maoist movement. The public's consent is gained by creating a narrative that once this is done, India's development as a "modern society" will automatically happen. However, military operations cannot address the fundamental needs of the people, the disparities in Indian society, or the pervasive exploitation. History has proven this time and again. The Sangh Parivar's decade-long rule has not only militarized but also saffronized India, reflecting a comprehensive war strategy to add all kinds of issues and control all strata of society. This approach entails deepening divisions and intensifying "conflicts", with little to offer in terms of lasting solutions to the socio-economic and cultural challenges faced by marginalized communities (for example simply continuing to dole out poor quality free rations instead of improving educational prospects), or even providing the bourgeoisie a "modern" state with well-developed infrastructure.

Unsurprisingly, Adivasis, Maoists, and ordinary people across the country find themselves on the opposite side of the war strategy. There is armed conflict, ideological clashes, and constant religious strife. The state identifies people who challenge its war strategy as traitors and internal threats, experimenting with psychological and military warfare tactics such as Operation Kagar. The essays in this book explore and attempt to unravel this complex issue, analyzing the political, economic, military, and cultural goals behind this fascist war strategy. These writings provide a comprehensive understanding that Kagar should not be seen merely as an Adivasi issue or a war against the Maoists, but as a broader assault on the fabric of Indian society.

Such an understanding is necessary, especially in the context of recent election campaigns where Narendra Modi has targeted Muslims and leftist ideologies. The BJP's divisive campaigns, claiming that wealth will be gifted to Muslims by urban Maoists, incite hatred and seek to destroy amicable relations between Hindus and other religions. The term "urban Maoists" has been extensively used in election campaigns, with Home Minister Amit Shah claiming the Maoist movement will be eradicated with Operation Kagar. However, portraying Maoism as a problem overlooks the belief held by many that it is a solution to the pressing politico-economic and socio-cultural issues facing the country. This nuanced perspective highlights the broader implications of these campaigns, underscoring the need for a deeper understanding of the societal dynamics at play.

During Modi's decade-long governance, marginalized communities in the plains have suffered as much as the Adivasis in the forests. The Modi government now aims to crush the aspirations of millions, implementing a strategy of militarization and criminalization targeting all who resist, to bring the entire society under the fold of Brahminical Hindutva. This fascist approach involves rulers cultivating hatred and waging war against their own people. The essays in this book attempt to unravel this complex situation. Do read them and engage in discussions about their far-reaching implications.

Operation Kagar: The Most Savage Stage of the Brutal War in Dandakaranya

Revolutionary Writers' Association

Dandakaranya, in its decades-long revolutionary journey, has pioneered several social and cultural experiments that India needs. It has borne the brunt of unparalleled violence for four decades. But now, it is in the midst of a ruthless battle that has raged for the past several months. Operation Kagar (The Final Mission), involving more than a hundred thousand paramilitary forces supported by drones, helicopters, and satellite surveillance, is being executed against the poorest of the poor indigenous people. This operation resembles a war of aggression as if the mission were targeting a hostile nation. Unquestionably, it is a gory and uncivil war.

Large Casualties in Kanker

On April 16, 29 revolutionaries, including at least 12 women, were killed in an attack in a joint operation by the Border Security Forces (BSF) and the State police in the Maad area. They all dreamt of a beautiful life for all of us. In that quest, they bestowed the ultimate tribute to the revolutionary legacy: the tender sacrifice of their mortality. The massacre took place as part of Operation Kagar by the Union Government. The North Block in Delhi deployed maximum forces to Dandakaranya [official figures: 80,000] to capture the Abhuj Maad [Unknown Maad] area.

The installation of Ram in Ayodhya, the bringing of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) as part of the conspiracy to make Muslims outsiders in their own land and attempts to bring a Uniform Civil Code by the saffron government to legitimize the Hindu Brahmanical culture—all are incremental steps to turn India into a Brahminical Hindutva fascist state. On the economic front, all trade, business services, and natural wealth are being brought under corporatization. The war on Dandakaranya is to expedite this process. Is such a massive "conflict" taking place only to regain a too-remote and hitherto unknown forest area? Sounds like a fairy tale. Truth is indeed stranger than fables.

In the age of finance capital, this internal "conflict" is led by a State and its administrative machinery and the judiciary operating under a modern constitutional democracy as simply techno-managerial brokers for mega-corporations. Thus, the war's goal is to transfer vast swathes of natural resources to mega-corporations, in which the Adivasi movement has become as a significant obstacle for the State-Corporate-Hindutva Nexus. Due to the unwavering resistance in Dandakaranya against large-scale corporatization of its natural wealth, the State has transformed the region into one of the most extensive military zones over three decades and created a public narrative that the effort to seize these so-called remote areas from the Maoists is a major issue for the country.

After the Abhuj Maad incident, Union Home Minister Amit Shah expressed his joy. He said that the Maoist movement was the biggest enemy of development, and they would liberate the country soon. There is a clear political outlook in considering the Maoist movement as the biggest threat among the existing mass movements rising against corporatization in the country. The union government's slogan – We will liberate the country from the Maoist movement and hand over the country's wealth to the corporations – reflect the same.

The present Operation Kagar, although an extension of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, which started in 2017 and planned to realize its primary objective, is a qualitatively different military campaign.

The Farce of Inviting Maoists for Talks and the Janus-faced State

Immediately after the BJP came to power in Chhattisgarh, two crucial but seemingly contradictory announcements were made by the union and state governments: one, from Union Home Minister Amit Shah that the Maoist movement will be eradicated; and two, from State Home Minister Vijay Sharma that he was ready to talk with the Maoists.

What appears as two opposing views coming from the Janus-faced state aim at serving a single mission. The first is extermination. So, hundreds of thousands of CRPF, BSF, and other local forces have been moved to Dandakaranya. The second is the call for negotiations. The conditions for the talks are as follows: no obstruction to the construction of roads and mining in the forest area. The Chief Minister said that corporations should have a favorable environment for smooth mining, and only then would negotiations take place.

Whether or not the Maoists were ready for talks, the government felt it was important to create the narrative that it was immediately responsible for creating such a "favorable" environment. Within this short period, six base camps were set up in one Maad area—the most innovative way of creating favorable conditions!

Whoever proposes negotiations between the two sides in the backdrop of a military conflict should attempt to find a political solution to the conflict. After all, any war is the continuation of politics by different means. However, Chhattisgarh-Delhi's double-engine government has made a rather strange proposal for the talks. The

government came forward shamelessly on behalf of the corporations and proposed negotiations to ensure that mining barons' operations can proceed unhampered. One face proposes negotiations to achieve unabated corporatization, and another deploys vast forces; the call for talks and militarization go together, unsurprisingly!

The New Offensive from the New Year

The BJP government moved forward rapidly, starting in the first week of December 2023. On New Year's Day, the security forces attacked Muddum village, near Gangalur, in the Bijapur district, and killed a toddler, Mangli, in the lap of her mother while she was being breastfed. Relentless attacks have been regular, and killings have become routine. On April 2, 13 Maoists were killed in an encounter at Korcholi in Bijapur district. For sure, all of them are Adivasis, if not Maoists. Seven months into this year, more than 150 Adivasis and revolutionaries have been killed in the name of encounters. Aerial bombing was also carried out for the fifth time on April 7, as a continuation of the aerial attacks carried out by the previous Congress government in the State.

Before launching Operation Kagar as the "final attack," Amit Shah stated that the next General Elections would be held in the country free of Maoists. He meant his forces would eliminate the Maoists from the map of India by 2024. The BJP made such statements several times during its decade-old rule. The Congress had also announced such deadlines but failed to achieve them.

A brainstorming meeting (Chintan Sivir) was held at Surajkund, Haryana, on October 27-28, 2022. It was attended by the home ministers, home secretaries, police of various states, and paramilitary officers. They all discussed the dream of "New India" coined by the present regime. They said that it should be realized by 2047. Around the same time, an official press statement of the RSS declared that

2047 was the goal of realizing the Hindu state. The Maoist movement is standing in the way of the "New India" and the establishment of their Hindu state. However, this is not an idea that sprang up suddenly in Surjakund. The Sangh Parivar had already decided on their objective a long time ago. Unlike in the past, though, the Sangh Parivar desires a Hindu Rashtra based on Hindutva and a robust authoritarian political and capitalist economic foundation. The Surajkund decisions are only part of that. That is why the union government is giving immense prominence to making unprecedented war preparations and spending more than a lakh crore rupees (12.5 billion dollars) in the budget to suppress the revolutionary movement completely.

The Sangh Parivar understands that as long as the revolutionary movement exists, there is no chance of attaining their "New India" on the foundations of corporate Hindutva. The establishment of a crony corporate Hindutva state is not just an ideological, cultural strategy for the Sangh Parivar. It is a political, military, and administrative strategy for the BJP government.

Central India has witnessed at least fourteen major mass struggles in the last three years. Silger's unarmed struggle in Bastar, which started during the earlier farmers' movement in Delhi, is ongoing. These political and economic struggles are taking place because the Adivasis recognize the risk of existential erasure posed by the Brahminical Indian state and also for environmental, cultural, and geographical reasons to save forests, water, and lands. Millions of people have been fighting for years on many issues such as lack of bridges and roads to improve transport facilities for ordinary people instead of the four-lane highways for transporting minerals and coal that have displaced whole villages and also involve cutting down of large numbers of trees on Adivasi common lands in the forests, the innumerable harmful effects of mining and tailings, and tourism, lethal

and divisive propaganda of Hindutva, and against anti-farmer, unconstitutional laws. Both the union and state governments cannot tolerate these mass movements. As regards Chhattisgarh, the center and state concluded that as SAMADHAN-Prahar was not quelling the growing mass movement they needed Operation Kagar to give more teeth to the security forces.

Country Under the Iron Wheels of the Fascist Juggernaut

The entire country has been facing oppression, experiencing insecurity, and watching the destruction of constitutional bodies for the past ten years. The emergency of 1975–1977 looks pale before the draconian measures of the present regime. It was also short-lived. But the ominous character of the present situation is too obvious to ignore. The dark decade of the saffron rule has been much more vicious than the post-liberalization period ushered in by PV Narasimha Rao. When the two revolutionary parties merged to form the CPI-Maoist, there was not merely an announcement by the then PM in 2009 that "Naxalites are the biggest threat to internal security," but it followed a prolonged unprecedented military campaign in the name of Operation Green Hunt. Operation Kagar is much beyond Operation Green Hunt, which ran from 2009 to 2017. Make no mistake: this is the latest operation to establish a Corporate Hindu Rashtra, which the Sangh Parivar wants to achieve.

India's Adivasi Communities are Facing Brutal Repression

Kurusam Shankar

In the mineral-rich heartland of India's Bastar region in the state of Chhattisgarh, a severe onslaught against indigenous communities, known as Adivasis, is currently unfolding. The Indian government officially recognizes the major Adivasi community in the region, the Madia, as a "particularly vulnerable tribal group." Despite this recognition, the ongoing state-led aggression against them poses a grave threat to their existence, putting thousands of lives at stake.

At the heart of this unfolding tragedy lies the Indian government's steadfast commitment, echoed by the declarations of Home Minister Amit Shah, to eradicate Maoist revolutionaries by the end of 2024. In their pursuit of a "Maoist-free India," state forces have intensified their operations in 2024. Over the past seven months, they have killed more than 150 Adivasis and Maoists. On April 16, 2024, alone, security forces killed 29 Adivasis and Maoists, 15 of whom were women.

To carry out this bloodshed, the Indian state has deployed not only thousands of local police operatives but also more than ten thousand troops from border security forces, paramilitary forces, and special counter-insurgent units. They have established hundreds of military camps across Adivasi terrain to terrorize and eliminate them.

Military/police camps have been strategically established at intervals of 3–5 kilometers to saturate Bastar with military and police

presence. In Chhattisgarh, approximately 290 such camps exist, with Bastar alone hosting over 200. Each camp accommodates between 500 and 2,000 personnel, armed with heavy weaponry, and supported by drones of various sizes. Additionally, every camp is equipped with two mine-proof vehicles, all-terrain vehicles, and war tanks.

In addition, the state is resorting to the use of drones to drop bombs in Adivasi areas. This aggression illustrates how the Indian state is endangering its indigenous peoples. The question that every citizen must ask now more than ever remains: Why?

Minerals and Maoism

For over five decades, the Maoists, also known as Naxalites, have been waging a relentless struggle against the state, advocating for socio-economic justice and people's rights over water, forest, land, and self-respect. However, the Indian government views this revolutionary movement as a major "internal security threat" and labels it a "menace" to the nation. In response, it has embarked on a mission to "sanitize" regions under Maoist influence.

In the context of Bastar, renowned writer Arundhati Roy has offered valuable insights into the complex dynamics of the conflict, by looking at it in terms of three main factors: mineral resources, the Adivasi communities, and the Maoists. At the core of this issue are the abundant reserves of minerals under the Adivasi-inhabited lands.

The state of Chhattisgarh accounts for approximately 38% of tin ore, 20% of bauxite, 18% of iron ore, 17% of coal, 11% of dolomite, and 4% of diamond resources in the country. Moreover, all mineral extraction in the state contributes to almost 13% of India's total mineral production value. The Bastar region alone boasts approximately twenty-eight critical minerals essential for various industries, including coal, iron ore, bauxite, dolomite, limestone, diamonds, and manganese, as well as rare-metal and rare-earth (RMRE) pegmatites such as niobium, cerium, yttrium, lithium, and tantalum. The estimated value of these mineral resources is staggering.

The Indian state's strategy revolves around privatizing existing public-sector mining operations and providing licenses for new mines to corporations. This initiative aims to create designated zones for the extraction of minerals. To achieve this objective, the state has undertaken three major steps.

Firstly, it has created a conducive policy environment for privatizing mining operations, paving the way for increased corporate involvement in the sector. Secondly, extensive infrastructure has been constructed to facilitate corporate operations, including the extraction and transportation of minerals. This infrastructure development includes roads, railways, airports, and other logistical support systems. Thirdly, the entire region has been militarized through the establishment of numerous police and paramilitary camps, aimed at providing security to corporate interests and suppressing dissent.

This ruthless encroachment through privatization, corporatization, and militarization is perceived by Adivasis as a direct threat to their existence, cultural heritage, and the environment at large.

Denying Constitutional Rights

For centuries, Adivasis have relied on the land for their sustenance and identity, with their way of life intricately tied to nature, similar to indigenous peoples elsewhere in the world. However, the aggressive push for mineral extraction not only displaces Adivasis from their ancestral lands but also disrupts their way of life, social fabric, and self-governance by consensus.

The deployment of armed forces within Adivasi territories not only stokes fear but also perpetuates human rights abuses. These actions directly contravene constitutional provisions stipulated in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules under Article 244 of the Indian Constitution as well as special legislation about the Scheduled Areas such as Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (PESA), the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (FRA) and the

Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013 (RFCTLARR). The Fifth Schedule and these legislations grant special provisions for Adivasi self-governance, protection of their land and resources, and prohibitions on the transfer of tribal land without consent. That is, any developmental initiatives within Adivasi areas must proceed only with their free, prior, and informed consent.

Fifth Scheduled Areas have been recognized in ten states although they do not cover all the areas with substantial Adivasi populations. The ten states are Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, and Telangana.

The Fifth Schedule also facilitates the establishment of autonomous district councils and regional councils within Scheduled Areas. These entities are tasked with fostering self-governance and promoting socio-economic development among Adivasi communities. However, despite the presence of these constitutional guarantees, Adivasis have remained consistent targets of exploitation and oppression, indicating a wide gap between constitutional principles and their practical enforcement.

From 2003 to 2018, the Chhattisgarh government signed 272 Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with public and private corporations, entailing an investment of approximately $16.5 billion. However, in 2021, 158 MoUs were terminated as they did not materialize. Subsequently, between 2019 and 2021, the government entered a new set of 104 MoUs totaling $6 billion. To execute these MoUs and extract resources, the state has been attempting to displace the Adivasis from their land. However, the Adivasis are not alone, since the Maoists stand in solidarity with them. Together, they are combating what Roy has dubbed the cohort of "MoUists."

The Indian state views the Adivasis and the Maoists as obstacles to its primary objective: exploiting the mineral wealth situated beneath the Adivasi lands. To assert its dominance over these resources, the

state has employed a range of unconstitutional and illegal tactics, including aerial bombings using drones, ostensibly to combat the Maoist revolutionaries. This brutal strategy not only disregards the civil and political rights and dignity of the Adivasi communities but also highlights the Brahminical fascist state's readiness to prioritize corporate interests above the welfare of its people.

The Trajectory of State Repression in Chhattisgarh: 1990–2014

The heavy-handed approach of the Indian government, characterized by widespread human rights abuses such as extrajudicial killings, faked surrenders, forced displacement, and violations of civil liberties, has been ongoing for years. The state has been implementing various notorious counter-revolutionary strategies, reminiscent of tactics previously used in Malaysia and Vietnam, such as the establishment of "New Villages" and "Strategic Hamlets," aimed at eradicating communist movements. The underlying principle of these strategies is to displace individuals from their land and disrupt their social networks, relocating them to unfamiliar areas. Through this process of alienation, the state aims to exert control over the populace and weaken their support for revolutionary causes.

During 1990–1991, the state put into effect a strategic approach through the formation of a vigilante group named Jan Jagran Abhiyan (JJA) (Public Awakening Campaign). While the name of this group suggested an intention to raise awareness among the populace, its actions belied this purported purpose. Instead of fostering enlightenment, the JJA employed coercive methods to compel individuals to denounce the Maoist movement.

Methods of coercion included the targeted killing of suspected Maoist sympathizers, acts of sexual violence against women, and the deliberate destruction of homes through arson. Such tactics were intended to instill fear and suppress support for the Maoist cause within the affected communities.

In 2005, the JJA rebranded itself as the Salwa Judum, which translates to "Purification Hunt" in the Gondi language. The primary objective of this rebranded entity was to dismantle the support base of the Maoists. Employing coercive tactics, the Salwa Judum compelled Adivasis to join its ranks and ruthlessly targeted those who resisted its authority, resorting to violence and killings. The Salwa Judum's campaign of terror extended to looting Adivasi homes, incinerating entire villages, and subjecting women to rape and sexual violence. In contrast to the JJA, which selectively targeted individual houses, the Salwa Judum adopted a more indiscriminate approach, destroying whole communities in the pursuit of its objectives.

As well as endorsing the Salwa Judum, the state established an auxiliary unit known as the Special Police Officers (SPO) which enlisted local Adivasi and non-Adivasi youths, along with former Maoists, into its ranks. The recruitment process had no defined criteria, such as minimum age, educational qualifications, or training prerequisites. Instead, individuals were selected based solely on their willingness to support paramilitary forces and the Salwa Judum in their counter-revolutionary operations.

In 2007, in response to this unconstitutional system, civil rights activists and scholars petitioned the Supreme Court. A 2011 ruling from the Supreme Court ordered the Government of Chhattisgarh to disband the SPO force and halt all support for anti-constitutional activities such as the Salwa Judum aimed at suppressing the Maoist movement.

However, within a month, instead of complying with the court order, the Government enacted the Chhattisgarh Auxiliary Armed Police Force Ordinance. This move effectively legitimized the Special Police Officers (SPOs) by altering their designation and status. In addition, the government provided them with more advanced weaponry and increased their salaries.

Subsequently, in 2013, the government renamed the force as the District Reserve Guard (DRG). Despite these changes in

nomenclature, the underlying actions remained unchanged, reflecting the continuation of the same oppressive practices. These persistent criminal activities underscore the absence of a constitutional punitive mechanism. The state's endorsement of terror has firmly established its dominance over Chhattisgarh.

Furthermore, in 2009, the Indian state launched a nationwide coordinated offensive against the Maoists known as "Operation Green Hunt." This operation involved the deployment of various security forces, including the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Border Security Forces (BSF), the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), as well as specialized police units like the Greyhounds, alongside local police. The primary objective of this operation was to eliminate the Maoists.

Modi-Shah Strategy: 2014 Onwards

Since 2014, the Modi-led NDA government has significantly intensified its oppressive strategies to unprecedented levels. They strengthened Operation Green Hunt until 2017 and introduced another potent yet brutal strategy with the acronym SAMADHAN: Smart leadership — Aggressive strategy — Motivation and training — Actionable intelligence — Dashboard-based key performance indicators — Harnessing technology — Action plan for each theater — No access to financing.

None of these operations succeeded in eliminating the Maoists or implementing all the MoUs to access and exploit mineral resources. In response to this failure, a new war strategy was devised. Home Minister Amit Shah proclaimed this strategy during a meeting held in Surajkund, Haryana, in October 2022.

In this meeting, Modi and Shah stated that their government would not spare any "anti-national" forces, whether they were penholders (referring to public intellectuals and civil rights activists) or gun holders (the Maoists). This was a reiteration of the same goal

of ending Maoism in the country by 2024 made during a meeting held on December 11, 2022, in New Delhi.

As part of the Surajkund strategy, the Modi regime is systematically eliminating all forms of opposition, including political parties that could impede its goal of transforming India into a Hindu State. In pursuit of this objective, the government has implicated hundreds of public intellectuals, writers, artists, and rights activists in sedition cases and incarcerated them. While stifling civil society's voice, the Modi administration has escalated its campaign at the same time against Adivasis by militarizing Adivasi areas.

The paramilitary and police camps are imposing severe restrictions on the movement of Adivasis, instilling terror day and night. Particularly alarming is the fact that the paramilitary forces have been launching rockets from these camps in recent months, targeting surrounding villages and forests. This has forced people to flee in panic, desperately seeking safety.

The shells from these rockets can travel up to five kilometers from the camp, exploding within a dangerous ten-meter radius of residential areas. Terrified residents have fled to the forests, carrying their children and elderly family members.

Even more concerning is how since April 2021, the government's use of drones to drop bombs and indiscriminately fire from helicopters. These incidents have occurred five times since then, evidently aimed at terrorizing the populace and potentially serving as a prelude to more extensive aerial assaults on Adivasi communities in the future.

Breaking the Silence

Since January 2024, the Modi Government has escalated its military operations under "Operation Kagar," declaring it to be a decisive step to "liberate" Bastar from the Maoists, with a notable focus on the Abhuj Maad area, where approximately thirty-five thousand Madia Adivasis live. During these operations, more than one hundred and fifty Maoists and Adivasis were killed.

On January 1, 2024, police forces indiscriminately fired upon the hut of an innocent six-month-old girl named Mangli Sodi. Her mother was feeding her when the bullets struck, resulting in Mangli's tragic death and severe injuries to her parents. In another appalling incident on April 2, 2024, the police took away a 12-year-old girl called Kamli, who had been deaf and dumb since birth, and shot her multiple times, later falsely claiming that she was killed in an exchange of fire with the Maoists. The mother could hardly recognize Kamli's lifeless body, marred by bullet wounds.

These heinous acts epitomize the devastating consequences of the Indian state's warfare against its own people. Yet, even though the humanitarian crisis in Bastar has reached alarming levels, the mainstream media has remained conspicuously silent. Local media outlets are terrorized and restrained from disseminating information about the situation to other areas. Media personnel, under the control of police officials, are coerced into propagating only the statements provided by the police themselves.

As Adivasis endeavor to safeguard their constitutionally guaranteed rights and preserve their ancestral lands, the Modi government persists as an aggressive enabler for corporate and Hindutva agendas. Yet it is the Adivasis who embody the authentic custodians of nature.

It is imperative for global civil society to vociferously advocate for an end to the Indian state's all-out war. Only through concerted international pressure can justice and peace prevail for the Adivasis and their land.

Viksit Bharat or Blood-Soaked Hills: The Reality of Operation Kagar in Maad

Chaitanya

Since January 1, 2024, alarming news has emerged from the media about the commencement of Operation Kagar (The Final Solution) to "liberate" the Maad hills in central India from Maoist control. Whether the name Kagar, like the previous Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar (2017–2022), has been officially decided by the Ministry of Home Affairs is yet to be clarified. The local people of the Abhuj Maad area refer to it simply as Maad. "Abhuj" (meaning "unknown") is a name given by the government, likely originating during the British era when government officials rarely ventured into this vast hill region that is now located on the border between Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra, with roads running through every nook and cranny of those hills. Within it, the Ramakrishna Mission has been running five extensive Hindutva schools and ashrams for over 30 years. Therefore, readers should be aware that the term Abhuj has lost its meaning today and why the Adivasis do not use it anyway.

An area covering about four thousand five hundred square kilometers in the Maad hills also over time became a stronghold for the Maoist party, from where their revolutionary activities continue today. The Indian state under the leadership of Narendra Modi is determined to take control of this area in the name of "liberation." The question then arises about what the union government is doing to take this forward. With the cooperation of state governments,

the center has deployed thousands of military and paramilitary forces there. According to the Indian Constitution, law and order is a state subject, but this is not being honored in this situation. The autocratic conditions over the past decade have left states unable to execute their constitutional rights.

To conduct the Kagar military operations, six thousand personnel from the Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF, e.g., the BSF and the ITBP) have been transferred to the Maad hills. Additionally, at the time of writing, the government has announced transferring over three thousand more personnel from other deployed forces in various locations in Bastar. According to media estimates, an additional ten thousand forces were expected to join the thousands already present there in July 2024.

As the police search teams comb through the hills, those familiar with the physical terrain of Maad, or those closely following media reports from the area know well the intense fear and anxiety among the local population, the daily scenes of police shootings with deaths of innocent Adivasi people.

Seeing this atmosphere of terror and horror, Indigenous rights advocates, human rights activists, and democratic rights activists are unable to remain silent. They are distressed that the number of police personnel far exceeds the local population in those hills, disrupting civilian life. These civil society actors are voicing their opinions in various forms before the public. In such conditions, Chhattisgarh's Deputy Chief Minister and Home Minister Vijay Sharma issued a statement saying their government is ready for peace talks with the Maoists. However, Vijay Sharma added a condition that there can be no development without mining and that Maoists should not obstruct road construction works. In reality, it is the people who are obstructing road works, but the authorities are spreading propaganda about Maoists to justify their actions. From his statements, it is easy to understand the connection between Operation Kagar, mining, and the construction of road and railway

lines. Hindutva is smoothly integrating corporatization and militarization into their "Viksit Bharat" strategy. The Maoists have responded positively to Vijay Sharma's proposal, stating that for meaningful talks to happen, a democratic atmosphere must be created in Chhattisgarh without any preconditions. Subsequently, the government has been changing its stance and bringing forward numerous convoluted arguments.

At the start of the Kagar military operation under the pretext of Maad liberation, it is noteworthy that Union Home Minister Amit Shah announced that India would be free of Maoists within the next three years. This indicates that Operation Kagar is not limited to Maad alone but will create significant bloodshed, turmoil, and intensify unrest across the country, especially in Adivasi areas, in the coming three years, as warned by history.

What are the demands of the marginalized Indigenous people in various Adivasi areas of our country? Why is the government engaging in inhumane and destructive attacks on Indigenous people under the guise of suppressing Maoists? Before understanding this, let us first learn about the ongoing struggle of the Adivasi people in the Ladakh and Kargil regions along India's northern borders.

The people of Ladakh and Kargil are not only demanding full statehood but also calling for the inclusion of their regions in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. They insist that this is necessary to protect their lands, culture, language, and environment. In pursuit of this demand, movement leader Sonam Wangchuk went on a hunger strike. Claiming that their survival is under great threat, the people of Ladakh and Kargil have been protesting and have called for a state-wide bandh (shutdown). Everyone except Modi's uncritical supporters understands that this is the situation following the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A, which Modi declared marked the beginning of a new era in Kashmir's history!

The former BJP President of Ladakh, Dorjay Lakruk, has said that the region's peoples are not against investments; their concern

is the purpose and direction of development. For example, the prevailing unemployment problem in the region is another major issue behind the current agitations. Another issue is that thousands of acres of land are needed for a proposed mega solar power project. To make these lands available, the government is categorizing particular areas as fallow lands. In reality, these lands are a haven for rare wildlife and medicinal plants, and the construction of the plant will force the nomadic tribes to abandon the region and migrate. Dorjay Lakruk asserts that this is not an issue of investment but rather a question of what people's problems have to do with investments.

Jamyang Tsering Namgyal, the current Member of Parliament from Ladakh, is urging the government to enact a law under the name of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council to fulfill the aspirations of the local people. In addition, the majority Muslim population in Kargil prefers to remain a part of the erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir rather than being part of predominantly Buddhist Ladakh. The irony, as stated in Wangchuk's words, is that the existence of Article 370 ensured that no one could exploit the local resources.

The demands of the Ladakh people for autonomy and inclusion in the Sixth Schedule are the same as those of the marginalized indigenous people who have been making these demands for more than three years. They seek self-determination in their own hilly regions. Before 2019, Kashmir was not entirely within the ambit of the Indian Constitution, so the applicability of the Fifth or Sixth Schedules was irrelevant. The connection between India and Kashmir was based on Articles 370 and 35A, a constitutional promise made during Nehru's time and a fact well-known to those who have familiarity with the Constitution. During Modi's second term, he ruthlessly abrogated these articles and forcibly occupied Kashmir. This must be stated unequivocally and fearlessly!

As a result, in the newly formed state of Jammu and Kashmir (currently governed as two union territories), the people of Ladakh

are demanding the implementation of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The marginalized indigenous people in Maad are making a similar demand. For over the past three years, the residents of Maad have been collectively protesting and demanding that their region be officially recognized under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution and that the Gram Sabhas they have formed in their villages be officially acknowledged. Recently, they held large annual meetings of their protests in places such as Irak Batti, Beharaveda, and Orchala.

Hence then Operation Kagar in Maad. Despite months passing, the government has not heeded the demands of the people, but instead has been deploying brutal military forces against them under the operation code-named Kagar. Be it Kargil or Maad, the ruling class's policy is to suppress those who resist authoritarianism/fascism and Hindutva forces are particularly aggressive in this. The name of the military operation today may be Kagar, yesterday it was SAMADHAN-Prahar, before that it was Green Hunt, and before that, it was Salwa Judum! All these are fascist repression strategies implemented in different forms against resisting people.

Within six months of Operation Kagar, more than one hundred and fifty people were killed in police shootings. The search operations conducted from January 12 to January 16, 2024, were named Operation Suryashakti, which seems to be a part of Kagar. Among those killed in the police operations are local Adivasi farmers' children, including a six-month-old baby named Mangli, as well as young people like Soni, Nagi, Kosa, Piso, and Karu. The police claim that the deceased were Maoists killed in counterattacks, but the local Adivasi people assert that the police are indiscriminately shooting at villagers and killing them and are demanding the removal of police camps from their villages to ensure their survival. Rights activists such as Bela Bhatia and Soni Sori have been visiting the sites of these incidents, bringing the facts to the public. Even students in Delhi are raising their voices against the ongoing massacres in

Dandakaranya. The country is calling to protect the blood-soaked forests and the Adivasi people living there from exploitation by the state-corporate-Hindutva nexus.

While the dire situation of the Adivasis in our country is like this, on the other hand, Prime Minister Modi launched the Viksit Bharat Sankalp Yatra on November 15, 2023, the birth anniversary of Adivasi rebel leader Birsa Munda, which is also celebrated as National Adivasi Honor Day. As part of this yatra, over fifteen hundred vehicles were promoting Modi's guarantee schemes for votes across all districts. Meanwhile, the corporate media ("godi media") is doing everything to ensure that the destruction and massacre caused by Kagar are not heard about in the noise of this promotion. There are reports that since the start of Kagar, police have been cracking down on social media and YouTubers to prevent the ongoing killings of Adivasis in the forests from coming to light.

It is evident to those familiar with the history of capital accumulation worldwide that Adivasis are the ones paying the highest price for every successive government's vision of a developed India. It is a historical fact that industrialization in countries that preach civilization and democracy was soaked in blood through massacres. Following on from the UPA government, the Modi-led NDA government is striving to stand alongside those nations. We see relentless propaganda about India now being the world's fifth-largest economy, soon to become the third largest, and aiming to be the top by 2047. The underlying truth of Modi's guarantees is that they targeted a guaranteed victory in the eighteenth Lok Sabha elections. People need to realize that as long as eight hundred million people rely on government-issued ration cards for food, the country cannot be considered developed. The real deceit lies in how the exploitative classes define development.

In Gadchiroli, Maharashtra, while the Viksit Bharat Sankalp Yatra vehicles, filled with Modi's supporters, were making much noise on the roads, the police were intensifying Kagar attacks in the forests

and villages. District police officials have openly stated that controlling Gadchiroli is essential to liberate Maad. The district superintendent of police (SP) inaugurated a new police station in the remote village of Vangeturi on November 20, 2023, and announced plans to open another in Gardaveda by mid-January 2024, claiming that with these new stations, Naxal attacks will be impossible, thereby assuring the safety of mining activities in the dense forests and hills of Dankodivahi. The authorities' declarations about wiping out Maoists serve the interests of ruling classes and corporations.

The local people of Dankodivahi and their Gram Sabhas are fighting against the mining of iron ore from this area, arguing that it threatens their very existence. They strongly opposed the mining started in the Surjagad hills during the BJP-led NDA government era (2014–2019). Despite their legitimate struggle, the police are ruthlessly and unlawfully suppressing these public movements under the pretext of Maoist involvement, facilitating mining activities. All this is happening as part of the Viksit Bharat Sankalp Yatra. Notably, soon after Kagar started, the Maharashtra Chief Minister declared that Gadchiroli district will no longer be backward but will become a developed industrial district by 2030.

To conclude, the Vision of Developed India is nothing but a campaign that protects the interests of capitalists and imperialists by exploiting the valuable and vast resources of our country, destroying the environment, and eradicating biodiversity. To suppress the public opposition that arises from this, forests are being drenched in blood, and the people there are being slaughtered. The media is being controlled so that the cries of these people are not heard by the broader citizenry. The civil society forces standing in solidarity with them are being harassed, their homes raided by the National Investigation Agency, they are being accused of having ties with the banned Maoist party and being jailed under the draconian state and central counter-terrorism and public safety acts.

At the same time, Hindutva forces are using the mythical and increasingly infantilized Ram as a major weapon to distract the country from paying attention to the legitimate demands, struggles, and increasing oppression of the people over their issues. If the oppressed people understand this reality and successfully counter the strategic plan of the Hindutva forces, the nominal independence of our country, the federal principles written in the constitution, and the democracy enshrined in its preamble will be preserved. Otherwise, these will be lost by 2047, the year the Hindutva forces aim to establish New India (Hindu Rashtra). Therefore, let us unite with the people who oppose Kagar and fight shoulder-to-shoulder with them.

Opposing Kagar means protecting our country from the exploitation and oppression of corporate groups. Stopping Kagar means protecting our forests and environment. Exposing Kagar means preventing the destruction happening in the name of development. Condemning Kagar means preparing to fight the atrocities of Hindutva forces. Confronting Kagar means, above all, utilizing and safeguarding the cultures, diversity, and resources of our country's indigenous people for the future of our country. Facing the fascist military actions undertaken by Hindutva in the name of eliminating Maoists is the duty of every Indian citizen, patriotic force, secularist, and democrat. Students, intellectuals, and the youth should stand at the forefront in fulfilling this charge for the sake of us all.

(First published in Arunatara Monthly Magazine, March 2024. Translated from Telugu by Prasad)As part of the aforementioned roadmap, Operation Kagar, a military campaign that began in January 2024, is underway. Governments and corporate sectors do not dare to openly announce the transfer of natural resources from the forests. They are creating bloodshed in the forests under the pretext of eradicating Maoists. Now, Kagar has also been declared with the same objective. The Union Home Minister and state rulers often announce that the Maoist problem will be completely eradicated

within three years. Every time they make such announcements, the killings of Adivasis in the forests increase significantly. With the BJP coming back to power in the state this time, many are naturally worried about the extent of the destruction Operation Kagar might create under the leadership of the "double-engine government" (same party leading the government at the center and in that state). Following the bourgeois principle of "there are no limits to deception in war," the police are creating informers in the villages without any ethical constraints. They are inciting criminal tendencies in lumpen elements with various temptations. Those involved in revolutionary activities are being cleverly turned into double agents. To ensure their accessibility, mobile connectivity has been established in every corner of the forests. Establishing mobile networks is known to be a priority for the rulers in their efforts to suppress the Maoists!

Recently, on the evening of March 18, 2024, in Lingampelli village of Aheri Taluka in Gadchiroli district, four young Telangana revolutionaries and beloved Adivasi children of Bastar were poisoned and lost consciousness due to treachery. The nearby Reppanpalli police, senior officials, and C-60 commandos reached the spot, captured them alive, and shot them dead the next morning, creating a fake encounter story.

After every death in the blood-soaked forests, the police routinely declare it a Maoist death. Meanwhile, the relatives and villagers of the deceased carry the bodies, presenting all the evidence and asserting that they are residents of their villages. This is the current situation in Bastar. If we do not consider the worsening conditions, we cannot understand the relationship between corporatization and the blood-soaked forests of Kagar. The worsening conditions are evident from the recent auction announcements by the Indian government.

The first phase of mineral auctions took place in November 2023. According to the details provided by the Union Minister of Mines, Prahlad Joshi, on February 27, 2024, the auction of eighteen blocks,

including the most critical or strategic minerals, would take place in March 2024. These include graphite, tungsten, vanadium, cobalt, and nickel, valued at rupees thirty lakh crore, equivalent to three hundred and sixty-two billion dollars. It is also important to know where such massive mining operations will be undertaken. It will not be anywhere else but in Bastar, where Operation Kagar has been ongoing, along with Maharashtra, other areas of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Arunachal Pradesh, and Rajasthan, as clarified by the minister.

Looking at the names of these states, it becomes clear that most of them are predominantly Adivasi regions. Joshi did not mention that these regions, where the excavations are taking place, are rich in vast mineral deposits. It is well known that in many of these states, the Adivasi people are already fighting under the leadership of the Maoist party for Jal-Jangal-Jameen (water, forest, land). We should also understand why the union government is focusing so much on these regions. Once we realize that just from the state of Chhattisgarh alone, the union government has earned an income of rupees ten lakh crore in the last decade, it becomes clear that it would go to any extent, even to bloodshed, for such revenues. The union government has to bear the expenses of the security forces in the Maoist-affected areas. But it ignored this, especially because, at the time of writing, the Congress party was in power in Chhattisgarh. Despite this, if we learn that the state government has spent twelve hundred crore rupees, we can understand that any amount of funds and destruction will be undertaken in the name of "development" for the mines. Four, six, and eight-lane roads are for development, railway lines are for development, resorts are for development, and parks are for development. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds support this development. All this is true. But the critical question is, for whom is this development happening?

Understanding the background of the first and second phases of the auction clarifies the purpose of Operation Kagar. Under the

name of Operation Kagar, the union government, in collaboration with state governments, has been conducting a massive military campaign in the Maoist-affected Adivasi areas, effectively war zones, since January 1, 2024. We have seen in detail the military operations being carried out in these areas. Only by understanding the relationship between these auctions and ongoing military operations can we uncover the secret between mining excavations and the creation of a Maoist-free New India. In this historical context, it is easier to understand International Mining Day.

In a class society, everything has a class nature. Whether it is the United Nations with one hundred and ninety-eight countries or a village panchayat, none of their decisions are class-neutral. Prime Minister Modi's slogans such as "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas" and "Achhe Din Aayenge" ultimately deceive the people and serve corporate interests. The progressive, democratic, revolutionary, and secular forces are lagging in making this clear to the general public, especially the oppressed masses, which is why their games continue.

In this context, it is noteworthy that Maharashtra Chief Minister Eknath Shinde talks about making Gadchiroli an industrial district by 2030, Chhattisgarh Deputy Chief Minister Vijay Sharma says there can be no development without mining, and Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik praises Bill Gates' role in Odisha's development. The "Viksit Bharat" (Developed India) vision planned until 2047 involves the destruction of our country's Adivasis. The goal of becoming the world's third-largest economy by 2030 involves the destruction of our natural resources. The "development" that Modi and his government envision entails the devastation of the country, the sacrifice of diversity to corporate interests, rather than the progress and survival of the diverse Indian populace.

Statistics show that, on average, about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of forests are being destroyed in India each year. Despite this, what does rapidly expanding financial investment care

about other than its own growth? Financial investments have already ruthlessly destroyed many tribes worldwide. Currently, among the many indigenous tribes in our country under its attack are seventy-five Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) recognized by the union government. These groups were identified as being on the verge of extinction long ago. For their development, Prime Minister Modi announced rupees twenty-eight crores on November 15, 2023, as part of the "National Adivasi Pride Day." Is this not sheer deceit? It is akin to setting a fire from below and pouring water from above! On the one hand, intensifying the financial investment attack that threatens their very existence, and on the other hand, allocating large funds in the name of their development, is a tactic suitable only to a deceptive duo such as Modi and Shah. The tribes facing extinction are not asking Modi for funds. These tribes are demanding authority over their forests. PVTGs need more than just money or the funds disbursed under CSR. They need their existence. These indigenous people are fighting not for meager funds but for their dignity. They seek authority over water, forest, and land along with dignity. For this, their suppression and the concomitant expansion of mining, and bloodshed caused by corporations and the police stations and camps turning forests into militarized zones must end.

The Hindutva forces, combining religious devotion with all forms of propaganda, are putting the people into a stupor. They are also claiming that indigenous people are Hindus. The news that a person such as Vishnu Dev Sai has become so subservient to Hindutva forces is evident from his very Hindu name. To deceive the Adivasis, the Hindutva forces deliberately made Sai, who holds an Adivasi certificate, the chief minister. He does not even have the qualification to claim he is an Adivasi. Everything he does is dictated by Deputy CM Vijay Sharma, a Chanakya-like Brahminical ideologue.

From the moment it assumed power in Chhattisgarh in December 2023, the Hindutva BJP government focused on eliminating the Maoists. On one hand, they intensified preparations for a new military

operation, and on the other, Deputy CM Vijay Sharma said they were ready to negotiate with local indigenous Maoists. He did not explain this double stance. Nevertheless, he set a very sly condition for the negotiations: the Maoists should not obstruct the road constructions happening in Bastar. When the entire "war" is for the protection of natural resources, setting a condition not to obstruct roads being built by the government for resource exploitation is a tactic straight from the book of Chanakya. The Maoists immediately responded, but unlike Sharma, they did not impose any sinister conditions. They requested a minimum of six months' suspension of military operations and no new camps, and that the police should confine themselves to their camps to facilitate mutual consultations with the government and to freely gather public opinions for the negotiations.

How can it be possible for the long-standing Maoist revolutionary movement in Chhattisgarh to be ready for talks for the first time without undertaking the aforementioned process? During the tenure of Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Digvijay Singh in 1998, there was a proposal for talks with the Naxalites. However, no conditions were announced from either side. For various reasons, those talks failed. It could be argued that it was a different time and different matter, but the Maoists reflected on it. Hence today, the Maoists took a lot of time to consult with the people regarding the talks. The people who had already understood the evasive methods of Chief Minister Baghel by negotiating their struggle demands with the previous Congress government. Hence, it is well known that the Adivasis do not easily trust the exploitative rulers. In such circumstances, if a camp is set up in a village, how can the Maoists negotiate with the government without consulting the people who have emptied the village and taken refuge in the forests?

For example, after setting up a camp in Puvvarthi, the entire village was vacated. A handful of people from that village were forcibly gathered, taken to Raipur to meet the then Chief Minister, given a

tour of the city, and made to speak against the Maoists and in favor of the government. On one hand, new camps are being set up, while on the other hand, people are being killed, forests are being searched thoroughly, and yet the government continues to talk about negotiating with the Maoists. This exposes the insincere and tyrannical policies of the rulers. In such a situation, protecting the blood-soaked forests, the indigenous people, and the revolutionary movement becomes an immediate obligation of the country's people.

The United Nations declared April 4 of each year as the Mining Awareness Day and advocates for what everyone should understand about mines. Protecting mines means protecting forests. To protect forests, we must protect the indigenous people. To protect the indigenous people, we must recognize that they are the true stewards and guardians of the forests. To recognize them as the true guardians of the forests, they must have control over water, forests, and land. Their lives must continue with dignity. This is something that Modi-Shahs, Bhagwats, Adanis, Ambanis, Essars, Vishnudev Sais, Fadnavises, and the United Nations formed by such people do not understand.

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Encounters on the Eve of Elections

P. Varalakshmi

Elections, the biggest democratic process, are happening against a backdrop stained by the blood of Indian indigenous people. The death toll has crossed one hundred and fifty since January 1, 2024. The dead may be armed Maoists or unarmed villagers, but most of them are Adivasis. Declared as a war of extermination, the thick forests of central India continue to be soaked in blood. Indian rulers are in a hurry to eliminate the Maoists and Adivasis who stand in the way of mining and handing over the forests to corporate companies. This was their promise to the corporates. It was publicly announced that elections would be held in a Maoist-free India. Though it was not explicitly stated that the tribals would be eliminated or evicted from the forests, the state's actions speak volumes. On the eve of elections, the rulers proved their loyalty to the corporate class rather than to the people. They do not care to unmask their real face. After all, it is a government by the corporations and for the corporations. No other election season until now has made this fact clearer.

The task of evicting tribals took a specific form during Manmohan Singh's government when capitalists eyed forest resources worth millions of crores. The displacement of Adivasis and the shift of wealth to private owners is not new, but it was at least within some limits. Over the last two decades, several attempts have been made to loot all the forests. Anyone can look at the extent of deforestation and depletion of natural resources during this period by going through

the available data. Today, India ranks second in the world in deforestation.

Only the forest area under the influence of Maoists is not letting this happen. The war is not just between the Maoists and the government forces, as the government directs us to believe. Nor are the Adivasis sandwiched between the two, as liberals say. It is a clash between people and corporate capital. The conflict between the two is manifested in various forms. The recent farmers' protest in Delhi is a glaring example. Also, people in different places are fighting against displacement. In the Dandakaranya forest, the situation has taken a serious form. While the government is waging war against the people on the side of the corporates, the tribals are resisting the state along with the Maoists.

Earlier, people were harassed or killed for giving food and shelter to Naxalites or for cooperating with them. As the people in the Dandakaranya region became organized in various forms, it became a real challenge for the government. They began to understand the "problem." The Indigenous people declare that Jal-Jangal-Jameen (water, land, and forest) belong to them. These forests are areas where private ownership of natural resources has not yet been fully established.

The Adivasis firmly state that capitalists will not be allowed into the forests to conduct mining operations, and they are resisting in various ways. One notable form of resistance is the long-standing unarmed protest by the people of Silger, which has been ongoing for years. Additionally, thousands of people, from school-going children to the elderly, are protesting throughout the forests of Chhattisgarh. These protests aim to protect their forests, oppose paramilitary and police camps, and assert the decision-making powers of their Gram Sabhas as per the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

Today, the Dandakaranya Adivasis are effectively resisting the Brahminical Hindutva cultural onslaught while preserving their cultural

identity. Millions of women, breaking the shackles of patriarchy, have organized and assumed decision-making positions in Gram Sabhas, attracting significant attention from outsiders. The Adivasis, while maintaining their identity and building their future, are preparing for a resolute resistance against the state that seeks to eradicate them by all means.

The Adivasis began to experience the real authority of the people over Jal-Jangal-Jameen. This poses a crucial problem for the system, which does not accept people's power over wealth. After prolonged struggles, the constitution recognized tribal people's ownership of their lands and their right to self-determination. However, these rights are often only acknowledged on paper. Today, the tribals are demanding the implementation of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution and the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (PESA). If these are implemented, corporate capital would not be able to intrude. The Sixth Schedule, which applies to the tribals of the north-eastern states, recognizes their right to self-determination. Recently, the people of Ladakh have been demanding inclusion in the Sixth Schedule because corporate forces are seizing their natural wealth.

And how does the government act? Environmental and forest laws are revised specifically to facilitate mining, often in stark contrast to the existing laws meant to protect tribals. The Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution prohibit such actions, yet even the courts fail to do justice by the tribals. The entire state apparatus appears determined to drive them away like animals.

India, blessed with great natural wealth and rich in biodiversity and cultural diversity, has been continuously plundered for decades. Economic policies that exploit people's wealth and labor are being implemented alongside fanatic religious fascism. Violence against all oppressed groups has increased manifold. However, it is the Dandakaranya tribal community that is at the forefront of fighting this crisis. They are resisting fascism from all sides, regardless of

how many faces it takes. This resistance poses a significant challenge to those who aim to establish a corporate state backed by Hindu Rashtra. For these forces, the Adivasis are the biggest obstacle to be eradicated immediately. The more deeply we understand this, the more clearly we see the violence occurring there.

Police camps must not be set up in tribal areas without the consent of the Gram Sabha. However, they are being established and tribal villages destroyed under the pretext of combating Maoists. In India, for the past four to five decades, the term "encounter" has come to mean unilateral shooting. Now, it has taken on an even broader meaning, encompassing massacres, rapes, burning houses, and dropping bombs from the sky. A six-month-old baby was killed on January 1, 2024, during a military attack named Operation Kagar. Declaring this as the death of a Naxalite in the crossfire would be abhorrent. Instead, the baby's mother was taken away and asked to claim her child died in Naxalite firing. However, she told the truth: the police opened fire on locals protesting the cutting down of trees. The woman carrying the baby was injured, and the baby was hit by a bullet in her stomach. Since then, more than a hundred and fifty people have been killed in these so-called encounters. However, the true identities of the deceased have been slowly emerging. Most of them are unarmed Adivasis.

The government, unsurprisingly, does not care at all. The corporate media is busy covering the affairs of Hindutva politics and corporate interests. The most wicked thing is that the government is claiming the Adivasi deaths as their victories. The government, which had promised to wipe out the Maoists by the elections, is now saying that they will eliminate them in two years. There are neither people nor democracy in the election promises. The Prime Minister's campaign incited hatred against Muslims and accused the opposition of being urban Maoists. The opposition is also silent about the massacre of Adivasis. After all, nobody wants to lose the support of the corporate class.

Operation Kagar: Corporatization, Militarization, and Hindutva

Chaitanya

April 4, 2024, is Mines Awareness Day. The United Nations observes this day annually to raise awareness about mine protection, explosive hazards, and public health issues. One might think that the hundreds of days observed by the United Nations are indeed very significant. However, it cannot be said that the underlying intention is genuinely for the public good. It can be said without a doubt that the organization, operating with the authority of wealthy nations, primarily the United States and Western European imperialist countries, is often misleading the public and fulfilling the interests of wealthy nations. I hope this article, specifically about Dandakaranya, a significant mining area in central India, will help us understand the real issue.

Those familiar with the history of India might know about Chanakya, the wily strategist who enabled Chandragupta Maurya to establish himself as an Emperor. He explains that managing mines guarantees government revenue, suggesting that governments should undertake their management. From this understanding, let's look at the understanding of our country's modern Chanakyas. They have been struggling for a long time to increase the revenue from mines to six percent for the government, but currently, it is only about two percent. There are many irregularities and mafia dealings in these matters. Therefore, let us understand mining activities from the people's perspective.

Civil society and many academics have been voicing concerns for many decades that mines have turned into a curse for the indigenous people in our country. This is well known to those who have seen their lives. We must understand why they are saying this and the problems being faced by the indigenous peoples.

The 1990s marked the era when our country initiated the implementation of imperialist globalization policies. We need to remember this because these policies, under the guise of administrative convenience, are reducing federalism by creating smaller states, smaller districts, and a stronger government at the center. Following these directives, three special states were created in our country in 2000. Although the histories of the three states are separate, except for Chhattisgarh, the other two states have a history of popular movements. For Jharkhand, during the British colonial period, the struggle of brothers Sidhu and Kanhu, and the demand for a separate state before the Simon Commission in the 1920s by the Santhals and Mundas, among other indigenous groups, laid the groundwork. Over time, their history was written with blood sacrifices and struggles, including those of the people's hero Birsa Munda. Eventually, the state of Jharkhand emerged as a result of the new economic, political, and social policies defined by imperialist-directed Indian ruling classes, despite the splits and divisions. This is recent history.

In the early 1980s, the revolutionary party sowed the seeds of the revolutionary movement in the Bihar-Jharkhand region, calling to transform Jharkhand into "Lalkhand." Despite not having a significant history of popular movements, Uttarakhand also has a history of struggles. However, it can undoubtedly be said that imperialist globalization policies were the main reason behind Chhattisgarh becoming a separate state.

About two decades before the formation of the separate state of Chhattisgarh, the revolutionary party had entered the Bastar forests from neighboring erstwhile united Andhra Pradesh. During the time

leading up to the formation of Chhattisgarh, the party proposed the formation of Bastar as a separate state, considering its historical struggles and the former Bastar princely state. They argued that Bastar (covering nearly thirty-eight thousand square kilometers) is larger than Kerala and several north-eastern states, and even larger than some European countries, making it deserving of special state status. However, neither the Chhattisgarh rulers nor the central government dared to take this step. Nevertheless, the people of Bastar and the revolutionary party working there welcomed the formation of the separate state of Chhattisgarh, reflecting their clear and correct ideological understanding of nationalities. On November 1, 2000, Chhattisgarh became a separate state. This is recent history.

Today's generation must understand the history behind Bastar's anguish, the bleeding forests, and the struggles and sacrifices of the indigenous people. The formation of Chhattisgarh turned out to be a curse for Bastar, leading to the destruction of its forests and immense natural resources and the devastation of the lives of its indigenous inhabitants.

Chhattisgarh is part of the mineral-rich belt that extends across central and eastern India. It has extensive forests and abundant natural resources, which are found on both the northern side, with areas such as Hasdeo, and the southern side. The state has a significant Adivasi population. Between these regions lie towns, cities, plains, factories, industrial areas, and densely populated regions with a substantial workforce. Geographically, Chhattisgarh reminds those familiar with the global struggles of Vietnam. Another notable aspect of this state is its revolutionary history: the Bihar-Jharkhand revolutionary movement to the north and the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary movement to the south, which united in 2004. Within this historical context, it is impossible to separate the peoples' movements in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Jharkhand, Telangana, and Andhra Pradesh from the seven districts of today's Bastar.

For over two decades since the formation of the separate Chhattisgarh state, the forests of Bastar have been bleeding. The land of Bastar is drenched in struggles, with new history being written through the sacrifices of its people. This is a physical reality. In the first three years of the new state, Congress ruled, followed by a period (excluding 2018–2023) predominantly under the counter-revolutionary RSS-BJP. It was Congress that first brought Central Armed Police Forces to Bastar after the transfer of power, but it was the BJP that used them aggressively against the people and the revolutionary movement.

The Central Armed Police Forces first set foot in Bastar on March 20, 2003. In November of the same year, the new BJP government took power, taking about eighteen months to organize with new policies. Subsequently, both the union and state governments, with the support of vigilante leaders such as Mahendra Karma, launched the Salwa Judum (a collective "purification" hunt), a white terror campaign, starting on June 5, 2005, just twenty-four hours after agreements with various domestic and foreign corporations had been signed. For four years, the attacks of Salwa Judum devastated the lives of Adivasi people in Bijapur, Dantewada, Sukma, and Narayanpur districts, burning villages, destroying crops, and displacing thousands of families. Nearly two thousand people were brutally killed. However, these sacrifices were not in vain. The "unrest" preserved the forests of Bastar, with human rights activists, organizations, and allied movements standing by the oppressed people, exposing the atrocities of Salwa Judum to the world.

Advocates for the welfare of indigenous people have given assurances for their lives and sacrifices. In Bastar, Salwa Judum was defeated. Ultimately, in 2011, the Supreme Court's bench, headed by Justice Jeevan Reddy, officially condemned Salwa Judum. Many reports by various organizations have documented that it was the corporate sectors that brought Salwa Judum forward. They want the mines. They want the profits. The dreams of this conglomerate,

however, did not materialize. Their plans did not come to fruition. As a result, they re-entered the field in a different form, more ruthlessly, more meticulously, with more decorations, greater strength, and resources. The understandings declared by the United Nations, and the days it declares, serve as authorized tools to plunge the people into illusions. From 1990 to 2010, no corporate entity could set foot in the forests of Bastar and Gadchiroli. The corporatization terror (Salwa Judum) failed.

Before the blood of Salwa Judum's murders could dry, the exploitative rulers and their security forces launched Operation Green Hunt in August 2009, a prolonged military campaign lasting over eight years. Unlike the indirect support of governments in Salwa Judum, Operation Green Hunt was a direct strategic military suppression campaign by the union and state governments. During this period, hundreds of Adivasi people fell to police bullets, revolutionaries were killed, women were subjected to mass rapes and were murdered, and property destruction continued. Many police-led massacres under the guise of targeting Maoists were exposed, and subsequent government inquiries officially declared the police guilty in incidents like Sarkeguda and Edsum. No government took any action on these findings.

Whether it is Salwa Judum or Operation Green Hunt, they stand as synonymous with corporate investments. These operations not only involved killing people but also destroying their properties. Adivasi women were subjected to gang rapes by various police forces. Government agencies investigated these cases, and even they concluded that the police were at fault. But what was the outcome?

This brings up an important point: the lack of action against guilty police officers by the government has made even ordinary Adivasi people understand that the police are beyond the law and will not be punished. They have realized the nature of the exploitative government. People have learned the harsh realities and characteristics of the system from their life experiences which no

school or classroom would teach. The government's goal with Operation Green Hunt—to transfer natural resources to corporate interests—did not go as planned.

At the onset of Operation Green Hunt, rights organizations, activists, intellectuals, writers, journalists, and lawyers defined it as a war against the people. They responded more vigorously than before. Numerous international organizations, revolutionary groups, and solidarity movements supported the oppressed and victimized people. Counter-revolutionary forces perished in large numbers in the people's resistance. The people's organized strength grew stronger compared to the Salwa Judum days. Weaker forces exited the battle arena. To deceive the people, in 1996, during the era of imperialist globalization, the government amended the constitution and introduced Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (PESA), which grants Adivasis authority over their land, water, and forests. A new legal battle demanding the implementation of this Act became a weapon in the people's struggle. However, instead of merely implementing it, the fundamental demand that Adivasis have rights not just over minor forest produce but also over the substantial minerals and resources beneath the land emerged. This is a demand beyond PESA. People have demanded all resources, both on and below the land, be theirs, seeking natural justice beyond just legal reform. As a result; they resisted corporatization and state brutality (militarization).

Since 2014, Hindutva forces, namely RSS and BJP, began their rule at the center. These rulers, fully committed to corporate interests, not only amended numerous laws and introduced new ones but also declared their objective of opening all avenues for easy business. The corporate groups, seeking suitable forces to execute the demands of imperialist globalization, naturally chose these forces. Despite the weakening movements, the Brahminical state recognized it could not provide resources to corporate groups unchallenged: in May 2017, these forces launched a more intense, modern, and vigorous

military operation with the acronym "SAMADHAN" to suppress resistance more effectively than previous campaigns.

At the launch of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, the Home Minister, Amit Shah, repeatedly announced that within five years, they would eliminate the Naxalites from the Bastar forests. Occasionally, Prime Minister Modi has also reinforced these declarations. During the five years of SAMADHAN, several short-term military operations named 'Prahar' were conducted under special missions to eliminate the Maoists. Hundreds of killings occurred in forests and villages during this time, with dozens of Maoist guerrillas dying in some instances.

In recent times, the Modi-Shah duo has heavily promoted the term "urban Naxal," to arrest social and political activists under false charges. The pliant media depicts them as terrorists, and they are jailed under laws that deny them bail. The National Investigation Agency (NIA) has conducted raids on the homes of many progressive and democratic forces.

The pliant media, aligned with corporate interests and subservient filmmakers and directors, have been distorting history, producing one-sided, half-truth, and false narratives under the encouragement of Hindutva forces. Films targeting Muslims and Maoists, such as *The Kashmir Files* and *The Kerala Story* on one side, and those such as *The Bastar Files* on the other side, are being released with the intent to mislead the public.

However, unexpectedly, new forms of people's movements have begun in the past five years. From each campaign against repression, new and advanced forms of struggle and organization are emerging. Those interested in people's movements can confirm many details through special research. For the first time in the history of the Bastar movement, indigenous youth have held discussions with the state chief minister about their issues. Their issues are not about wanting education, jobs, or Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act work or wage hikes. They are not ready to migrate

to Israel or Russia for work. They demand ownership of their forests, oppose displacement, and insist on the genuine implementation of government-formulated laws. They have firmly stated that no one can take anything from their forests without their permission. They declared that mines and minerals belong to them and should not be used for corporate benefits but for the needs of the people. This consciousness did not come from mining awareness programs but from their life experiences, which corporate entities and their governments cannot tolerate.

As the timeline for Operation SAMADHAN ended, public meetings and solidarity gatherings in Delhi involving students, intellectuals, and social activists increased. Bastar's indigenous farmers began attending the historic farmer protests in Delhi. Farmers' leaders from Delhi, rights activists from various regions, and political leaders from various parties expressed their solidarity with Bastar's people's struggles. This unprecedented support made it harder for the rulers to transfer resources from the forests. As people became more aware and began fighting for their rights in lawful and peaceful ways, many challenges arose against the ten-year Hindutva rule and the brutal repression of people for the past twenty years. The rulers, along with their security forces, reviewed these developments in 2022. Despite claiming significant declines in the revolutionary movement, they realized that it was growing and expanding in new forms, making it hard for them to sleep. As a result, they planned a new, advanced military operation called the Surajkund (Haryana) revolutionary resistance suppression plan. Hindutva rulers gave this Surajkund meeting significant importance for strategic decisions. They prepared a roadmap for establishing a Hindu state by 2047, deciding that the revolutionary movement within the country must be suppressed first, tolerating no support for it in any form. After Operation SAMADHAN, corporatization, militarization, and Hindutva merged into a coalition, becoming the main threat to the country's people today.

As part of the aforementioned roadmap, Operation Kagar, a military campaign that began in January 2024, is underway. Governments and corporate sectors do not dare to openly announce the transfer of natural resources from the forests. They are creating bloodshed in the forests under the pretext of eradicating Maoists. Now, Kagar has also been declared with the same objective. The Union Home Minister and state rulers often announce that the Maoist problem will be completely eradicated within three years. Every time they make such announcements, the killings of Adivasis in the forests increase significantly. With the BJP coming back to power in the state this time, many are naturally worried about the extent of the destruction Operation Kagar might create under the leadership of the "double-engine government" (same party leading the government at the center and in that state). Following the bourgeois principle of "there are no limits to deception in war," the police are creating informers in the villages without any ethical constraints. They are inciting criminal tendencies in lumpen elements with various temptations. Those involved in revolutionary activities are being cleverly turned into double agents. To ensure their accessibility, mobile connectivity has been established in every corner of the forests. Establishing mobile networks is known to be a priority for the rulers in their efforts to suppress the Maoists!

Recently, on the evening of March 18, 2024, in Lingampelli village of Aheri Taluka in Gadchiroli district, four young Telangana revolutionaries and beloved Adivasi children of Bastar were poisoned and lost consciousness due to treachery. The nearby Reppanpalli police, senior officials, and C-60 commandos reached the spot, captured them alive, and shot them dead the next morning, creating a fake encounter story.

After every death in the blood-soaked forests, the police routinely declare it a Maoist death. Meanwhile, the relatives and villagers of the deceased carry the bodies, presenting all the evidence and asserting that they are residents of their villages. This is the current

situation in Bastar. If we do not consider the worsening conditions, we cannot understand the relationship between corporatization and the blood-soaked forests of Kagar. The worsening conditions are evident from the recent auction announcements by the Indian government.

The first phase of mineral auctions took place in November 2023. According to the details provided by the Union Minister of Mines, Prahlad Joshi, on February 27, 2024, the auction of eighteen blocks, including the most critical or strategic minerals, would take place in March 2024. These include graphite, tungsten, vanadium, cobalt, and nickel, valued at rupees thirty lakh crore, equivalent to three hundred and sixty-two billion dollars. It is also important to know where such massive mining operations will be undertaken. It will not be anywhere else but in Bastar, where Operation Kagar has been ongoing, along with Maharashtra, other areas of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Arunachal Pradesh, and Rajasthan, as clarified by the minister.

Looking at the names of these states, it becomes clear that most of them are predominantly Adivasi regions. Joshi did not mention that these regions, where the excavations are taking place, are rich in vast mineral deposits. It is well known that in many of these states, the Adivasi people are already fighting under the leadership of the Maoist party for Jal-Jangal-Jameen (water, forest, land). We should also understand why the union government is focusing so much on these regions. Once we realize that just from the state of Chhattisgarh alone, the union government has earned an income of rupees ten lakh crore in the last decade, it becomes clear that it would go to any extent, even to bloodshed, for such revenues. The union government has to bear the expenses of the security forces in the Maoist-affected areas. But it ignored this, especially because, at the time of writing, the Congress party was in power in Chhattisgarh. Despite this, if we learn that the state government has spent twelve hundred crore rupees, we can understand that any amount of funds

and destruction will be undertaken in the name of "development" for the mines. Four, six, and eight-lane roads are for development, railway lines are for development, resorts are for development, and parks are for development. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds support this development. All this is true. But the critical question is, for whom is this development happening?

Understanding the background of the first and second phases of the auction clarifies the purpose of Operation Kagar. Under the name of Operation Kagar, the union government, in collaboration with state governments, has been conducting a massive military campaign in the Maoist-affected Adivasi areas, effectively war zones, since January 1, 2024. We have seen in detail the military operations being carried out in these areas. Only by understanding the relationship between these auctions and ongoing military operations can we uncover the secret between mining excavations and the creation of a Maoist-free New India. In this historical context, it is easier to understand International Mining Day.

In a class society, everything has a class nature. Whether it is the United Nations with one hundred and ninety-eight countries or a village panchayat, none of their decisions are class-neutral. Prime Minister Modi's slogans such as "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas" and "Achhe Din Aayenge" ultimately deceive the people and serve corporate interests. The progressive, democratic, revolutionary, and secular forces are lagging in making this clear to the general public, especially the oppressed masses, which is why their games continue.

In this context, it is noteworthy that Maharashtra Chief Minister Eknath Shinde talks about making Gadchiroli an industrial district by 2030, Chhattisgarh Deputy Chief Minister Vijay Sharma says there can be no development without mining, and Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik praises Bill Gates' role in Odisha's development. The "Viksit Bharat" (Developed India) vision planned until 2047 involves the destruction of our country's Adivasis. The

goal of becoming the world's third-largest economy by 2030 involves the destruction of our natural resources. The "development" that Modi and his government envision entails the devastation of the country, the sacrifice of diversity to corporate interests, rather than the progress and survival of the diverse Indian populace.

Statistics show that, on average, about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of forests are being destroyed in India each year. Despite this, what does rapidly expanding financial investment care about other than its own growth? Financial investments have already ruthlessly destroyed many tribes worldwide. Currently, among the many indigenous tribes in our country under its attack are seventy-five Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) recognized by the union government. These groups were identified as being on the verge of extinction long ago. For their development, Prime Minister Modi announced rupees twenty-eight crores on November 15, 2023, as part of the "National Adivasi Pride Day." Is this not sheer deceit? It is akin to setting a fire from below and pouring water from above! On the one hand, intensifying the financial investment attack that threatens their very existence, and on the other hand, allocating large funds in the name of their development, is a tactic suitable only to a deceptive duo such as Modi and Shah. The tribes facing extinction are not asking Modi for funds. These tribes are demanding authority over their forests. PVTGs need more than just money or the funds disbursed under CSR. They need their existence. These indigenous people are fighting not for meager funds but for their dignity. They seek authority over water, forest, and land along with dignity. For this, their suppression and the concomitant expansion of mining, and bloodshed caused by corporations and the police stations and camps turning forests into militarized zones must end.

The Hindutva forces, combining religious devotion with all forms of propaganda, are putting the people into a stupor. They are also claiming that indigenous people are Hindus. The news that a person such as Vishnu Dev Sai has become so subservient to Hindutva

forces is evident from his very Hindu name. To deceive the Adivasis, the Hindutva forces deliberately made Sai, who holds an Adivasi certificate, the chief minister. He does not even have the qualification to claim he is an Adivasi. Everything he does is dictated by Deputy CM Vijay Sharma, a Chanakya-like Brahminical ideologue.

From the moment it assumed power in Chhattisgarh in December 2023, the Hindutva BJP government focused on eliminating the Maoists. On one hand, they intensified preparations for a new military operation, and on the other, Deputy CM Vijay Sharma said they were ready to negotiate with local indigenous Maoists. He did not explain this double stance. Nevertheless, he set a very sly condition for the negotiations: the Maoists should not obstruct the road constructions happening in Bastar. When the entire "war" is for the protection of natural resources, setting a condition not to obstruct roads being built by the government for resource exploitation is a tactic straight from the book of Chanakya. The Maoists immediately responded, but unlike Sharma, they did not impose any sinister conditions. They requested a minimum of six months' suspension of military operations and no new camps, and that the police should confine themselves to their camps to facilitate mutual consultations with the government and to freely gather public opinions for the negotiations.

How can it be possible for the long-standing Maoist revolutionary movement in Chhattisgarh to be ready for talks for the first time without undertaking the aforementioned process? During the tenure of Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Digvijay Singh in 1998, there was a proposal for talks with the Naxalites. However, no conditions were announced from either side. For various reasons, those talks failed. It could be argued that it was a different time and different matter, but the Maoists reflected on it. Hence today, the Maoists took a lot of time to consult with the people regarding the talks. The people who had already understood the evasive methods of Chief Minister Baghel by negotiating their struggle demands with the

previous Congress government. Hence, it is well known that the Adivasis do not easily trust the exploitative rulers. In such circumstances, if a camp is set up in a village, how can the Maoists negotiate with the government without consulting the people who have emptied the village and taken refuge in the forests?

For example, after setting up a camp in Puvvarthi, the entire village was vacated. A handful of people from that village were forcibly gathered, taken to Raipur to meet the then Chief Minister, given a tour of the city, and made to speak against the Maoists and in favor of the government. On one hand, new camps are being set up, while on the other hand, people are being killed, forests are being searched thoroughly, and yet the government continues to talk about negotiating with the Maoists. This exposes the insincere and tyrannical policies of the rulers. In such a situation, protecting the blood-soaked forests, the indigenous people, and the revolutionary movement becomes an immediate obligation of the country's people.

The United Nations declared April 4 of each year as the Mining Awareness Day and advocates for what everyone should understand about mines. Protecting mines means protecting forests. To protect forests, we must protect the indigenous people. To protect the indigenous people, we must recognize that they are the true stewards and guardians of the forests. To recognize them as the true guardians of the forests, they must have control over water, forests, and land. Their lives must continue with dignity. This is something that Modi-Shahs, Bhagwats, Adanis, Ambanis, Essars, Vishnudev Sais, Fadnavises, and the United Nations formed by such people do not understand.

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OPERATION KAGAR

The Combined Assault of Corporatization, Militarization, and Hindutva

Brahminical corporatization of natural resources, now with the added dimension of "Hindutva", the most extreme version of Brahminical fascism in recent history. This strategy not only seeks to exploit the natural wealth of Adivasi lands but also aims to impose a homogeneous cultural identity that marginalizes indigenous traditions and beliefs. Moreover, the persistent assault on Adivasi communities reflects a broader agenda to reshape India's socio-economic landscape by prioritizing corporate interests and gaining the public's consent though managing and diverting public perception, a key way for which has been to drive a "one nation" singular cultural narrative over the diverse and rich heritage of its indigenous populations.

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